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GRAND MASS MEETING AT LOWELL.

1859

BOSTON 20

SPEECH

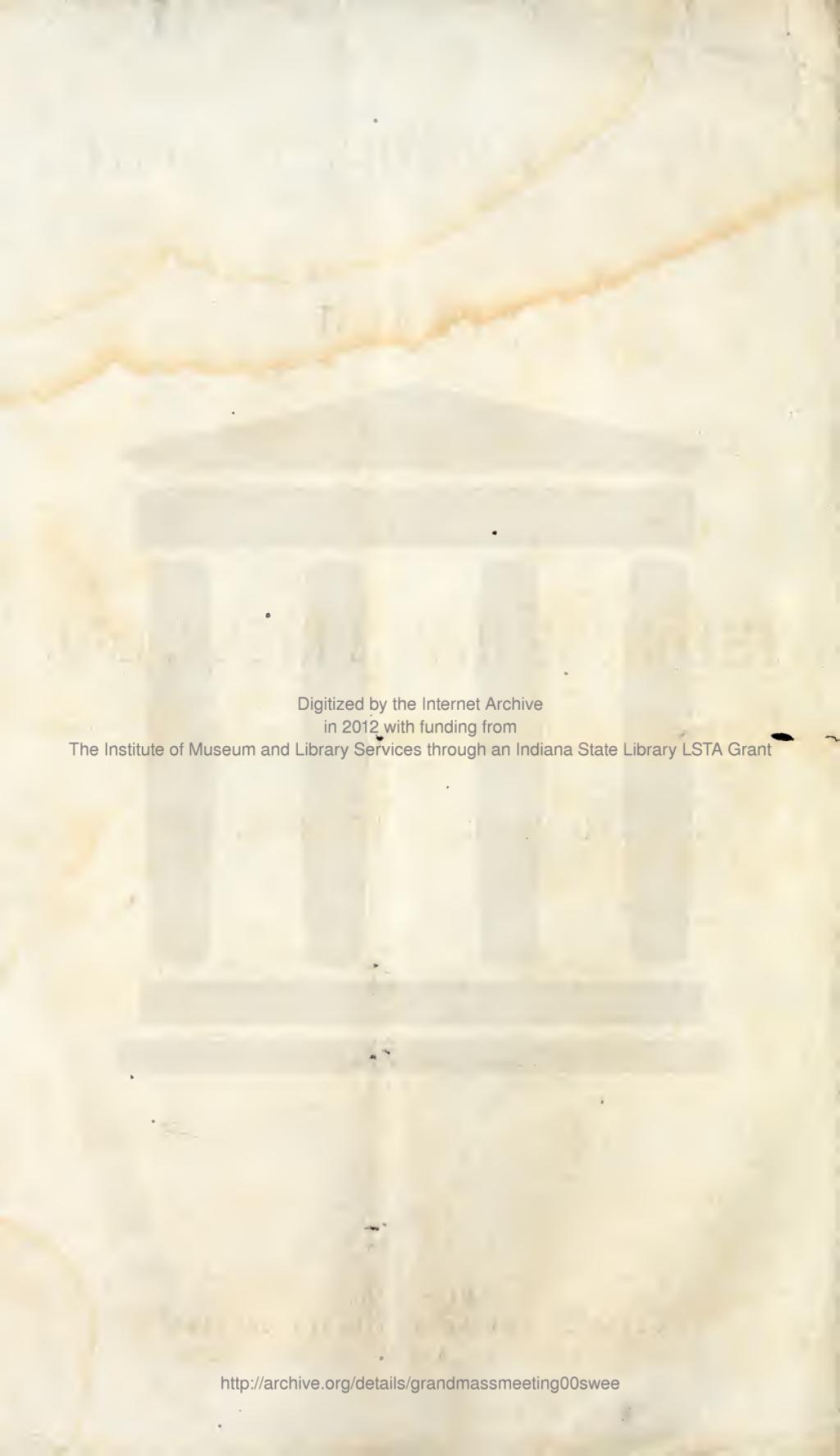
OF

THEODORE H. SWEETSER, ESQ.

OCTOBER 17, 1862.



BOSTON:
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1862.

A very faint, large watermark-like illustration occupies the background of the page. It depicts a classical building, possibly a temple or a government building, featuring a series of tall, fluted columns supporting an entablature. The entire scene is rendered in a light beige or cream color, blending with the paper's texture.

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SPEECH.

In response to a call on the citizens of Lowell and the neighboring towns, in favor of giving an unconditional support to the President, a large meeting was held at Huntington Hall, Lowell, on Friday evening of last week. The spacious hall—one of the largest in the Commonwealth—was filled almost to overflowing, the galleries being occupied exclusively by ladies.

At a quarter before eight o'clock, A. R. Brown, Esq., called the meeting to order, when A. W. Buttrick, Esq., was chosen President, and a long list of Vice Presidents, headed by the Hon. Daniel I. Richardson, and four Secretaries elected.

On motion of Mr. J. W. Smith, a committee was appointed by the chair to retire and report a list of delegates to attend the Congressional Convention at Concord on the 23d inst.

The same gentleman, in behalf of a committee appointed at a previous meeting, reported a list of names to constitute the City Committee, and the report was adopted.

On motion, the committee were empowered to increase their number by the addition of four members from each ward.

The President then introduced Theodore H. Sweetser, Esq., of Lowell, who addressed the meeting as follows :

SPEECH OF THEODORE H. SWEETSER, ESQ.

Fellow-citizens : I believe that it is incumbent upon any man who has marked out for himself a course of political action, and who desires that others may join him in that course, thinking himself that there is some good in it, that he should freely, frankly and honestly state the reasons that induce him to that course, and, if possible, by an honest statement of those reasons, induce others to join with him. It is especially incumbent, whether the thought be honest or not, when free speech is attempted to be gagged by the cry of "Traitor" in the streets, on the rostrum, and in the newspapers, that every American citizen shall state that which he thinks freely and boldly. (Applause.) I propose, therefore, in what I have briefly to say tonight, to speak freely my thought, my honest thought—to speak it boldly with regard to men, with regard to measures; with regard to men who are high, with regard to measures that are important; and if such speech, free and open, makes me a traitor, then it will be known and understood that I am so. (Applause.)

There never, in my judgment, was a time that

called for calmer, deeper reflection in regard to our political action than the present. Every vote that we cast may be, aye, is likely to be, loaded and freighted with the fate of the country; for it is in danger, not only from the rebels of the South, but from designing men at the North. It is said, and I believe it, that there is a design and purpose on the part of certain men of the dominant party in the State and in the nation to prevent free thought and free speech, in order that there may be an opportunity given to seize hold of the government and make it a despotism, for the accomplishment of their own objects. (Applause.) I propose briefly to touch upon those objects, to see whether or not it be true that to-day with regard to our political action, there is a necessity for thought and for unity of action on our part. I know it has become a prominent political cry of office-holders, in public speeches, and of their followers at the corners of the streets, that there shall be nothing on the part of the people but action—*action—action*. No thought is recommending, so far as I have heard, from any of these men; no direction that the people should reflect—*action* merely. Action, I grant you, as to the war; but *thought*, always, as to votes.

In reviewing our duty with regard to our political action this fall, it may not be entirely useless for us to review somewhat the past. Look back, if your memories will allow you, over the dark and fearful gulf of two years in our history; and do we not see a vast country, peopled with some thirty millions of industrious, prosperous inhabitants; in every art, in every industry which supports and adorns life, how prosperous! We were all of us rich men. The laborer, by the labor of his hands, not only earned that which was comfort, but even luxury. Our sails whitened every sea; our flag was honored in every port. We were free; free not in name alone; free of speech, free of thought, free in discussion, from the President to the lowest and meanest citizen—every man might utter freely with his lips the thought which he freely felt. (Applause.) Why, fellow-citizens, we were kings. We elected our own rulers; we made and changed our own laws; we boasted, we truly boasted, although Englishmen laughed at us for it—we well and truly boasted that we were the greatest nation on the face of God's earth! (Applause.) Taxes!—the word "taxes" was a name merely, which cast upon us no thought of burden. We were truly free.

To-day, your mills and workshops are silent; your streets are deserted; your homes are desolate. There is weeping in every city and village. "Rachel weeping for her children, because they are not." Compare, fellow citizens, the past with the present; the prosperity and glory of the past with the utter misery, degradation and wretchedness of the present; with our United States of America a byword among the nations, with mourning all over the country, the smell of blood tainting the very air, and tell me, men of Middlesex, whether the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is, are worthy of restoration and preservation! (Applause.) It was for the purpose of restoring that Union, it was for the purpose of preserving that Constitution, that a meeting of the citizens of the various towns of the State was held in Faneuil Hall a few days ago, and organized what is called the people's party. Was there reason, gentlemen, why that meeting should be held? Let us look back and see whether we ourselves did all we ought to have done to avoid the terrible realities that are upon us. Did we heed, as we ought, the mutterings of the storm? Did we listen as we ought to the warnings of great statesmen, now, alas! gone from us forever, in regard to our duty? If we did not, most grievously have we suffered for it. At the South, we heard maddened threats, from insane politicians, of disunion and separation, and simply laughed at them. At the North, we heard monomaniacs crying out that our Constitution was an "an agreement with hell," and we were silent. Are not the same signs of desolation to-day upon us? That is the question I propose to-night for the consideration of every honest heart. Further desolation—further dissolution—the prolongation of the war, or another war?

Eighteen months ago—aye, less than eighteen months ago—in July, 1861, in the extra session of Congress, a resolution was introduced, which received, in the House of Representatives, the vote of every Republican except one, and of every Democrat except one, declaring that the object of the war and the purpose of the ruling party was a restoration of the Union and the preservation of the Constitution. (Applause.) Only two men in the House, if I remember rightly, voted against that proposition. One of those men, a Democrat from Missouri, went back and joined the Confederate army; the other was Owen Lovejoy of Illinois. (Hisses.) In the Senate, I do not know that there was a single vote of the Republican party cast against that proposition; and the reason why I do not know it is that Mr. Sumner's seat was vacant. (Hisses.) That was the declaration of the Republican party, their platform of duty to the country in July, 1861. (Hisses.) I do not know precisely what the people who hiss are hissing at. If they are hissing at Charles Sumner, let them hiss. (Laughter and applause, with some hisses.) If they are here to hiss down free speech, let them hiss and try it on. (Applause and hisses.) They will find enough free speech to hiss before I get through. I have seen these infernal cowards belonging to the

Republican party, Free-soilers and abolitionists, undertake to hiss down free speech before. (Applause and hisses.) I told you our liberties were in danger because we were denied free speech by their leaders. (Applause.) I find the miserable sycophants of those leaders here to-night. (Applause and hisses.)

I have stated the position of the Republican party in 1861. They call me a traitor, and they call my friend who sits behind me (Hon. Linus Child) a traitor, and they call every man a traitor who now stands upon that precise platform on which they then stood. That is the meaning of the word "traitor" to-day. The Republican who stands on the Republican platform of 1861, and stands by the Constitution, is a traitor, as you hear upon the streets, who ought to be consigned to Fort Warren; and, according to Cassius M. Clay, in New York the other day, there ought to be a proclamation issued against him, to hang him. I propose that there shall be, if I can bring the matter about, with my little endeavor, a great many of that kind of traitors who ought to be hung. (Applause.)

Now, to-day the Republican party has assumed another dogma than that which was laid down in 1861. They say to-day—We will not have the Union as it was, we will not have the Constitution as it is; we will have the Constitution and the Union as they ought to be. I propose to ask the question, and leave you to answer it by your voices, whether or not it is quite safe to leave to political monomaniacs the tinkering of the Constitution left us by our fathers? (Shouts of "No.") The first and prominent object of the People's party of Massachusetts is to overthrow the dominant political party, because of the dogma which it asserts, and which it undertakes to carry your votes upon. It designs to break down the Constitution of the United States. (A Voice—"It can't be done.") I propose to ask, in the first instance, whether or not, in the conduct of the war, the Republican party has commended itself to our confidence. In 1861, Mr. Lincoln went into the Presidential chair. He had then about him, and has had ever since, a House of Representatives almost entirely Republican, and a Senate almost entirely Republican. And what besides? There has been no holding back of support by any man of any party, so far as I know, in the State of Massachusetts. All over the North, every man has poured out freely of his means, every party has poured out freely of its means, to aid the Government in carrying on the war. The Republican party has spent, in something like eighteen months, two thousand millions of treasure, they have lost something like two hundred thousand men in the attempt to carry on this war and put down the rebellion; and I ask you to-day if the Government by its own confession—read their own papers in regard to this matter—has not utterly, totally, and shamefully failed? (Applause.) That is the party which asks for our votes—a party which has uselessly spent the treasure and blood of the people—a party which has failed to carry on the war with any degree of success, and made us a laughing-stock in the eyes of the world! Twenty

millions of people, having every art, having every industry that can be useful in carrying on war, against less than five millions, and yet we have totally failed; and I charge that failure upon the Republican party. (Cheers and hisses.) I read the other day, in one of their own papers, the Boston *Traveller*, I think, the statement that the failure was properly chargeable upon them; and the editor said he did not know what answer could be made to it. I should like to hear somebody answer it. They have had a Congress made up almost entirely of Republicans; every man upon their Military Committee was a Republican, but there was not intellect enough in any man upon that Committee to know that in the prosecution of this war, more than five hundred thousand men would be needed in a year's time; that in order to hold the victories that were obtained, the places of the men lost by death or debilitated by sickness must be supplied by new enlistments. They have not found it out yet; at least, they have not filled up depleted regiments. (Applause.) The Chairman of that Committee, Henry Wilson of Natick, (applause and hisses) in March last, when he supposed they had 520,000 men, stated that they had men enough, and enlistments were stopped. The consequence was that in the month of May following, when our armies had so far succeeded as to encourage the belief that this was to be, as it ought to have been, and wo ld have been if conducted with proper vigor, a short war, we found we had not men euough to maintain our successes. I charge upon the Republican party, and upon the Military Committee, that they had not intellect enough to comprehend the tremendous war that was upon their hands. (Applause and hisses.) I charge, further, that it is the only party in the country that has been untrue to the President of the United States. (Applause.) I say it boldly; it has been, and is to-day, the only party untrue to the President of the United States. (A voice—"True," and hisses.) Do you want me to prove it? Charles Sumner is to-day crying out, "God bless Abraham Lincoln!" They went up to Worcester the other day crying out, "God curse Abraham Lincoln!" (Applause.) And they did curse him. They cursed the President when he did not do exactly as they pressed him to do; they bless him when they think they have made him do something unconstitutional. (Applause.) Why, ever since this war commenced, the leaders of that party have been undertaking to urge the President to take a particular course; they have been dissatisfied with him because he would not do it, and have scolded him like old women in the newspapers. Greeley wrote long letters at him, because he would not do precisely what the Republicans wanted him to. Talk to us about being untrue to the President of the United States! They say now, in order to carry your votes, "God bless Abraham Lincoln!" but three weeks hence, when this election is over, you will find them cursing him just as much as before. (Applause.) They have ruined the country. (Applause, and cries of "True.") I ask you for gold—you give me paper; I ask

you for silver—you give me waste paper! Have they not ruined the country? (Voices, "Yes.") Gold is worth thirty-eight per cent premium to-day in New York. You can have paper, I grant you. They have borrowed of the people, by the issue of their paper, two thousand millions of dollars. The people were perfectly satisfied. Cheerfully they lent their money, and cheerfully they would lend double the sum, provided this war could have a speedy close. But what has been done with it? (A voice—"Nothing.") Ask that question and you are a traitor! No free speech to-day! And yet, two years ago, three years ago, these men were crying out for free speech. They wanted to talk treason then, and because the people undertook to hiss them, they said they were trying to gag them, and so the people let them alone, and let them talk treason. But the man who to-day speaks in favor of the Constitution of the United States, they denounce as a traitor, and cry out, "Gag him!" "Down with him!" "Put him in Fort Warren!" "Hang him!" "Issue a proclamation against him!" (Laughter.)

I say, the people of this country are so patriotic that they are willing to be ruined by the utter exhaustion of their treasure, by the expenditure of the last dollar of their means, by the shedding of every drop of blood in their veins, providing they can preserve their liberties and rights under the Constitution; but they are not willing that their money should be spent for illegal purposes, and they are not satisfied with the waste that has been made of their treasure, to no purpose. They groan under the burden. They ask of the Republican party, "What has been done with our money?" "Why," they ask, "has not this war been gloriously ended, instead of being ingloriously prosecuted?" And the answer is, "You are a traitor." (Laughter and applause.)

The Republican party ought to be overthrown, because of their conduct toward every General in the field who was not of their party. They have derided, decried and sought to remove every General not of their political faith. They have vilified and abused the noblest man in the country, (most noble, because he has stood contumely without reply,) and they are to-day withholding the troops which the Government needs, because the President will not remove Gen. George B. McClellan. (Loud applause.) It is a good party to carry on the war by proclamations, and that is all it is good for. (Laughter and applause.) The Chinese have been carrying on a civil war longer than we have—I think, since 1855. We are told that they undertake to frighten each other by sounding gongs, and if that won't answer, they stand upon their heads and make faces at each other. (Laughter.) What has this Abolition party done in carrying on the war better than they? (Applause.)

The Republican party—what do the people say to it? They are beginning to talk out, notwithstanding proclamations and Fort Warren. Out in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Pennsylvania, (loud applause) they are saying to that party—"We

are tired of you; we intend to get rid of you, and vote for men who will carry on this war vigorously, who know something, who have some brains, who care a great deal for twenty millions of white men, and care very little for the negro. (Applause.)

I charge the Republican party with being false to its trust in respect to the protection of the Constitution; with intending to subvert that Constitution now, and at all times since the war commenced, by getting command of the army, putting John Charles Fremont at its head, and carrying on the war for the purpose of freeing the negro, irrespective of our rights and our liberties. I understand that, two nights ago, to a Lowell audience, who mostly, I believe, read and write, and know something about the affairs of the nation, a talented gentleman—talented enough, at any rate, to be in the Senate of the United States from New Hampshire—one of the Republican party—undertook to put the question, which they preferred, Halleck or Fremont. (Cries of "Halleck.") That was the answer he received. Why, what, in God's name, has John Charles Fremont done in this war that he should be put anywhere? (A voice—"Nothing.") Read the reports of their own Congressional committees, and you will find where some three hundred millions of your money have gone to. Squandered out in Missouri!—the most extravagant, disgraceful and corrupt waste of public property that was ever made in this country, not excepting James Buchanan's administration. (Applause.)

Well, gentleman, how do we propose to act in the State of Massachusetts, in order to get rid of the Republican party? I understand that they have begun to believe, down in the Republican State Committee rooms, that the People's party are going to cast *some* votes this fall. I understand that they have been very much alarmed, within the last few days, for fear we should have the Democratic vote. I am inclined to think there are some reasons for that alarm. I said a year ago, in this very place, (and people doubted me then), that the seeds of destruction were sown in that party. I said then that there was a division between the conservatism and abolitionism of that party. I said then that Mr. Seward, Mr. Charles Francis Adams and Mr. Fessenden were too conservative for that party; that the Republican party would be a party of Abolitionists within a year, and that the conservatives would be obliged to leave it. Did I not tell the truth? (Cries of "Yes.") That time has come. We have proposed a certain course of action to ourselves, which we hope commands itself to men who are dissatisfied with the burdens put upon them by that party, and who think they can do better with some other kind of men than that party gives us—and we certainly cannot do worse. We propose to ourselves, in the first place, that we will not have Charles Sumner re-elected to the United States Senate. (Cries of "No.") I really do not like to say much with regard to Mr. Sumner. He is so excessively vain that if any man makes a remark against his re-election to the Senate, he takes it as a matter of personal offence to himself, and talks about "sweltering venom." I therefore propose to let Mr. Sumner speak with regard to himself; to take his own record, just as

he puts it himself, and ask the people here whether or not that record commands him to their suffrages. He gave us his record, in a long, two hours, well-studied, well-delivered, I have no doubt well-written speech, in Faneuil Hall the other day, and upon that record he put all his acts during the last Congress; and if you will take the trouble to read that record, you will find enough, I think, to satisfy you whether or not you ought to vote for him. Every proposition which he laid down in Congress, every act which he inaugurated, everything which he did in that Congress, so far as he tells us—and he undertakes to tell us all that he did, because he is stumping the State, and recommending himself to the suffrages of the people—everything that he did when the country was in this danger and extremity, when our soldiers were dying by thousands upon the battle-field and upon the sick bed, when the treasury was depleted, when industry all over the country was suffering, when the people were getting poorer and poorer from day to day—everything he did was to inaugurate some measure for the black men, and not a single one for white men. (Applause.) I read that speech with great care. I say he stated fairly his record. I state that record fairly. Read it, and if you do not come to the same conclusion that I did, that Mr. Sumner deserved well of the black men, then I am very much mistaken. I hope Mr. Sumner will get the vote of every black man (Laughter); I hope he will not get the vote of a single white man. (Applause.)

Why, they begin to be alarmed about Mr. Sumner's re-election, and the State Central Committee have come out with a long circular, in which they talk about standing by the President. Republicans talk about standing by the President! They have trampled upon, crushed him, and pressed him almost to death. They have got him to issue a proclamation which, nine days before, he said he never meant to issue; and yet they talk to us about standing by the President. There is another reason, connected with the President himself, why Mr. Sumner should not be sent back to the Senate, besides the reason that he is a man of one idea. It is this. I suppose it is no treason on my part, to quote a remark that was made by Cassius M. Clay, with regard to the President. He said he was "a very peculiar man." I say he is "a peculiar man." I mean to keep myself within bounds. They don't hang any man who goes the whole hog of Republicanism. (Laughter.) I supposed he meant by that remark something, and I read the next sentence to find out what he did mean. Mr. Clay says the President likes to hear all sides of a question. I suppose that means, if it means anything, that he is a man capable of being influenced. So I say, President Lincoln likes to hear all sides of a question. Now, Mr. Sumner says that he pressed the President with regard to a proclamation for weeks and weeks, and demanded the adoption of a certain policy which I say is unconstitutional. It seems that after that pressure (I think Mr. Sumner makes the statement) he and the President agreed. I suppose it is no treason for me to infer that either Mr. Sumner became like the President, or the President like Mr. Sumner, by the pressure. If that is not treason, I will make another inference, which is that honest, well-meaning, true, as I believe Abraham Lincoln to be, it is quite important that he should have good, candid, able, far-seeing men, who

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stand by the Constitution, about him, so that he may be "pressed" the right way. (Applause.) Have we not got enough of such men, of any party, in this State, who are better able, as far as ability goes, more eloquent, farther seeing men, broader in their intellect, can better comprehend the condition of the country and the necessities of the war, than Charles Sumner? Need I mention Charles Francis Adams, Judge Thomas, Judge Bigelow, Judge Hoar, Judge Abbott? Man after man could be named, as far superior to him in practical ability, in breadth of brain, as he is superior to the meanest among us. (Applause.)

They have been saying, we don't support the President. They begin to believe, when they see the roll-call of the dead as well as of the living, that every party has supported the President of the United States. But they say we don't support the emancipation proclamation. Well, we don't. He has not made any. They say he has promised to make one on the first of January. I think he has done no such thing. I said I proposed to talk openly and boldly upon every question. It is barely possible, I understand, that I may be put upon the record to-night, and I have written out my view of what that proclamation means, and I propose to read it. The President, they say, has promised to issue an emancipation proclamation on the first day of January next. I say, he has not done so. I bind nobody else. I bind no man of the People's party by my opinion. It makes no difference whether I am right or not to any man's political action, except thus far—that the man who votes for an emancipation proclamation votes for a breach of the Constitution; and why he should not so vote, I propose briefly to state, after I have read what I have here written. But I understand the President to mean an entirely different thing from what the Republicans say he means—from what Mr. Sumner says he means. I do not understand the President to say that he will issue a proclamation of emancipation against the seceded States in rebellion after the first day of January. Let me read what he says in the proclamation which he has issued, and issued, I judge, most unwillingly and against his own convictions. He says that "the war shall be prosecuted hereafter for the purpose of restoring the constitutional relations between the States." Now it is certain that when the constitutional relation of the seceded States is restored (and no matter how, whether by arms or by voluntary return) their rights to property, under their own constitutions and laws, will be restored to them. We cannot withhold them, without ourselves doing the same thing they have done—to wit: violating the Constitution. I understand him to mean, therefore, that as Commander-in-Chief, he will, after the first of January, order the army to deprive the citizens of the seceded States then in rebellion of their slaves, as the armies progress in those States, and make use of them; and his conclusion is, that by so taking them, the slaves will be forever free. Whether his conclusion is correct in that regard, the courts will after that decide. I believe this will be found to be his own construction of that proclamation, when the first of January arrives. If this is what the President means by this proclamation, I certainly have nothing to oppose to it. I do not understand that any party in the country has anything to oppose to the proclamation, if that is the correct view of it.

That is the only construction which can be put upon it which gives force to the declaration of the purpose for which the war is to be carried on, in the first part of it, and gives force, also, to the last part of it; and I say, take from the rebels whatsoever will disable them and will aid us in restoring the Union. Whether it will aid us is a question of war policy, which he must determine. I understand that as long ago as last May, the Government was putting out about 80,000 rations daily, to contrabands within the lines of the armies; but then, whether the cost is not worth more than the candle is a question which he must determine, entirely. If, however, the President intends what Mr. Sumner seems to think he intends, that is, to proclaim that all the States then in rebellion shall not come into the Union, or be brought back into the Union, and still hold their slaves under their Constitution and laws, then I say he is undertaking to legislate as neither he nor Congress has power to legislate, and I would oppose such an assumption of power on his part, not because I object to the freedom of the slave, not because it would be an unfair and unjust treatment of the States in rebellion, but because it would be an illegal and unconstitutional assumption of power on his part, because it would be doing what we are sending fire and sword against them for doing—to wit, violating our Constitution. They made it the pretext of the war, that we had taken away their constitutional rights, and intended to do so; but because they have broken the law against us, gives us no right to violate the law against them. In fact, fellow citizens, we lose the only just ground for bringing them back into the Union, by abandoning and undertaking to violate the Constitution ourselves. From no feeling of sympathy, therefore, toward them should I oppose such a proclamation, if made; but I would object to it because it was a breach of the Constitution. I would oppose it as I would a proclamation on the part of the President that his government should be permanent, and that there should be no Presidential election in 1864. The one proclamation would be just as loyal and legal as the other, and could be just as well supported if the war continued until that time, on the ground of "military necessity." (Applause.)

That is my view of the proclamation. I do not pretend to any particular knowledge of the President's thoughts, but I have no doubt that that is his view, and that it will be found to be so. I have less doubt in the matter now, when I remember how he can be influenced, as it is [said, since I have read the returns of the elections from the West. (Applause.)] I admit that this proclamation is capable, fairly, of two constructions. I say that one construction makes it unconstitutional and illegal; I say that the other construction makes it perfectly reasonable, legal, and proper, and that nobody opposes it.

That is the proclamation they are thanking God for—such God as they have (laughter), an it seems to me it is very little to thank God for. But they are thanking God for it upon the ground that it breaks the Constitution of the United States. They say—all of them are honest enough to say, with the exception of Mr. Sumner, who don't say much of anything about it—they say that they will not have the Constitution as it was, but the Constitution as it ought to be. I ask again, will you leave to political monomaniaes

like these, the tinkering of that glorious Constitution? (Voices—"No.")

I have no time to spend upon the question what would be the effect provided Mr. Lincoln should issue a proclamation such as they say he has promised to do. We have heard enough of the siren songs of these Republican unconstitutionalists with regard to what black men would do to aid us in rebellion. Shame upon twenty millions of white men, if they cannot fight their own battles without calling upon the poor blacks of the South to help them! (Applause.) We were told, when this war commenced, that they had an enemy behind who would hamstring them; that there was an earthquake under their feet—Mr. Sumner said it; that they would have insurrections; that the slaves would run away. They promised this, that and the other thing with regard to their bravery, with regard to their desire for liberty. I appeal to you if every one of these promises have not proved to be untrue. (Cries of "Yes.") They say the same things to us again to-day. Mr. Sumner says, let the news of this proclamation be spread abroad in the Southern country and the slaves will rebel. Has it not been proclaimed, has not Mr. Sumner said that they have understood this to be a war for freedom, but where have they rebelled against their masters? Talk not to me about calling black men to our aid! Let white men fight this battle with bullets, with swords, with cannon, with ships, and not with paper proclamations. (Applause.)

They say we are a peace party. I say we are a peace party. I say that we have smelt the smell of blood long enough, unless we are to have a war which progresses to the destruction of our enemy. I say peace; but I say peace never, except under the old Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is—never! never! (Loud applause.) Fight, every man of you; fight against the four corners of the earth; fight Republicans, fight Southerners, in defence of that instrument, the only charter of our rights and liberties. When you leave it, when you desert it, you have no government, you have no law, you drift whither you know not! The West drifts away from the East. Reconstruction of that instrument, alteration of it, tinkering of it! Charles Sumner make a new Constitution, with his limited ideas! (Laughter.)

I have taken up altogether too much of your time. (Cries of "Go on.") I am abusing the time and patience, I have no doubt, of a distinguished and able—you all know how able—gentleman who sits behind me, full charged, I hope, with reasons why you should not elect Charles Sumner, and should not vote the Republican ticket. (Applause.) He differed somewhat with me last fall in regard to whether the Republican party intended to go to the extent he now finds they have done, and you see us here to-night together. (Applause.) But I have this to say before I close. I have many other things to say somewhere and at some time, before this campaign closes, because I have many thoughts on these subjects, and much reason, I think, against that

party; but I have only this much to say now, that the man who votes for the Republican ticket this fall, to place a man back in the Senate of the United States who goes against the Constitution, a man persistent as Mr. Sumner is in carrying out his own idea, is endangering the liberties of the free people of the North, as they have never been endangered before. (Applause.) He cries out in his speech the other day in Faneuil Hall, and at Lynn on Tuesday last, that we who differ from him in opinion are traitors; and the word "traitor" means that we are worthy of imprisonment, in this state of the country, and under the proclamation suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*; and if he does this "in the green tree," while he is before the people of Massachusetts asking for a re-election, what will he not do after one year more? I tell you, then, beware of Charles Sumner! Beware of him as you would beware of an enemy of your country. (Hisses and applause.) I tell you, the people of Massachusetts begin to believe what I believe upon this matter. You may come here and hiss, but I take it we will vote at the polls, won't we? (Cries of "Yes.") I think that free speech won't receive its death-blow in Massachusetts this year. I say, then, to you, vote against the Republican party. Vote against its whole ticket, because by voting that ticket, you help elect Charles Sumner. The rest of it, I grant you, is not of so much consequence; but if, by electing the rest of it, you give, as you may, particularly by electing Governor Andrew, with his influence over the members of the House, one, two or three votes to Charles Sumner, you may elect Charles Sumner. Therefore, I say, vote against the whole Republican ticket.

I ought to pay my respects to Gov. Andrew. (Applause.) He is my friend—a man whom I personally like very much. I shall treat him very respectfully—no more so than he deserves. John A. Andrew is a man of great practical ability; practical, where Mr. Sumner only theorizes; eloquent, where Mr. Sumner is simply an essayist; he has a power of oratory in himself to stir up the hearts of the people, such as Charles Sumner never had; he is bold where Charles Sumner is timid—John A. Andrew would fight; he is stubborn in his own opinion; he is shrewd; he is constantly active; he is the most dangerous man that the Republican party has in Massachusetts, or, I think, anywhere in the country. (Applause.) I say, therefore, don't vote for John A. Andrew, because he is dangerous, and believes everything that Charles Sumner believes, and more too. (Applause.) Vote for the Constitution and the laws; for liberty of speech; for free discussion of men and measures. Vote, then, for the prosecution of this war more vigorously, that it may be speedily ended in a glorious victory to the stars and stripes. Vote so that once more we may have that glorious prosperity under the old Union of these States, when we shall be one nation and one people, respected through all the earth. (Loud applause.)